(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or sdiok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [790] [462] 241 537 788

[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, sever tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

241
537
788

> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

241

When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the saingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

[77]

Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the saingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the saingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

---

[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay lamam. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingola."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from 241
the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. 188
The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the 262
food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is very low; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.